

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00

INRE-00 ACDE-00 /026 W

-----109096 232035Z /41

P 231922Z MAR 78

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7636

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 04511

EXDIS

USSALTTWO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: COMMENTS ON PLENARY, MARCH 23, 1978

(SALT TWO-1665)

REFS: A. SALT TWO-1667

B. SALT TWO-1666

C. SALT TWO-1664

1. AT MARCH 23 PLENARY, SEMENOV'S LENGTHY AND SHARPLY CRITICAL STATEMENT (REFTEL A) REVIEWED THE GENERAL STATUS OF NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA, ALLEGING ACROSS THE BOARD DELAY SINCE RECESS DUE TO "NONCONSTRUCTIVE AND EVASIVE" US ATTITUDE, AND NOTING THAT SOVIET PATIENCE IS NOT UNLIMITED. SEMENOV RESTATED SOVIET POSITION ON MAJOR ISSUES BEFORE DELEGATIONS, GIVING SPECIAL EMPHASIS TO CRUISE MISSILE RANGE AND DEFINITION.

2. NOTING THAT IT TAKES TWO SIDES TO NEGOTIATE, I RESPONDED WITH EXAMPLES OF SOVIET UNRESPONSIVENESS AND
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OBSERVED THAT US COULD HAVE PREPARED A SIMILAR STATEMENT BUT THAT SUCH STATEMENTS WERE NOT HELPFUL TO OUR NEGOTIATIONS. MY STATEMENT (REFTEL B) DEALT WITH ADVANCE NOTIFICATION, CITING OUR PROPOSAL OF JANUARY 27 AND CALLING UPON SOVIETS FOR A POSITIVE RESPONSE.

3. IN POST-PLENARY DISCUSSION, SEMENOV REAFFIRMED THRUST

OF HIS PLENARY STATEMENT AND REFERRED TO A "SEMANTIC CONNECTION" BETWEEN IT AND MARCH 17 PRAVDA COMMENTARY.
I RAISED UNWILLINGNESS OF SOVIET DRAFTING GROUP COMPONENT TO ADDRESS US PROPOSAL ON CRUISE MISSILE RANGE DEFINITION AS IT RELATES TO EFFECTIVENESS OF SYSTEM (REFTEL C), AND
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SEMENOV SAID HE WOULD LOOK INTO MATTER. SEMENOV STATED THAT USSR HAD NO CRUISE MISSILE CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KM DEPLOYED AT SEA. I ALSO GAVE SEMENOV DATA BASE NUMBERS FOR US SYSTEMS AS OF FEBRUARY 1.

4. ROWNY-BELETSKY/STARODUBOV BILATERAL. STARODUBOV EXPLAINED IN STRAIGHTFORWARD MANNER THE SOVIET RATIONALE FOR THEIR CRUISE MISSILE RANGE DEFINITION AND CRITICIZED FLEXIBILITY OF US DEFINITION IN ALLOWING FOR HORIZONTAL MANEUVERS. ALL AGREED WITH STARODUBOV THAT THERE WAS A FUNDAMENTAL DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN THE SIDES, BELETSKY SAYING THE US POSITION WAS UNACCEPTABLE.

5. PEREZ-FREW/SHCHUKIN BILATERAL. SHCHUKIN, RAISING CRUISE MISSILE RANGE DEFINITION, INDICATED THAT 600 KM LIMITATION WAS OF SPECIAL CONCERN TO THE SOVIETS. HE NOTED THAT NUMEROUS PLATFORMS (E.G., TRANSPORT AIRPLANES AND VARIOUS TYPES OF SHIPS) COULD CARRY CRUISE MISSILES NOT LIMITED BY THE AGREEMENT WHICH COULD IN FACT REACH
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TARGETS GREATER THAN 600 KM. HE FEARED THAT US CRUISE MISSILE DEFINITION WOULD ENABLE SUCH MISSILES TO BE DEPLOYED IN LARGE NUMBERS AND STRESSED THE NEED FOR OBJECTIVE RANGE CRITERIA WHICH STRICTLY LIMITED RANGE TO 600 KM. PEREZ NOTED THAT SOVIET CRUISE MISSILE DEFINITION WAS NOT PURE AND THAT UNDER "STANDARD DESIGN MODE" MISSILES OF LESS THAN 600 KM EFFECTIVE RANGE CAN NEVERTHELESS REACH TARGETS BEYOND 600 KM BY OPTIMIZING SPEED AND ALTITUDE. SHCHUKIN SAID THAT SO FAR AS HE KNEW "THE SOVIET UNION HAS NO CRUISE MISSILES WHICH CAN ENGAGE A TARGET AT MORE THAN 600 KM." IN DISCUSSION OF ANTI-SHIP CRUISE MISSILES, SHCHUKIN INDICATED THAT THE PURPOSE OF THE AGREEMENT WAS NOT TO LIMIT TACTICAL CRUISE MISSILES, BUT ONLY TO LIMIT STRATEGIC CRUISE MISSILES WHICH ATTACK STATIONARY TARGETS. HE INDICATED NECESSITY OF DEFINITION WHICH WOULD ADEQUATELY DEAL WITH TOMAHAWK, SINCE IT WOULD BE THE PRINCIPAL US CRUISE MISSILE FOR THE PERIOD OF THE TREATY.

6. WHITMAN/PAVLICHENKO BILATERAL. PAVLICHENKO REINFORCED SOVIET IMPATIENCE BY INSISTING THAT INTERIM AGREEMENT IS FOR PRACTICAL PURPOSES "DEAD." HE REFUSED TO BE DRAWN

OUT ON POSSIBLE SOVIET MEASURES THAT WOULD CONTRAVENE ITS PROVISIONS.

7. NICKELS/CHULITSKY BILATERAL. CHULITSKY SAID IF US IS CONCERNED ABOUT MILITARY EFFECTIVENESS OVER VARYING DISTANCES, US SHOULD HAVE DIFFERENT DISTINGUISHABLE MODELS OF CRUISE MISSILES FOR DIFFERENT RANGES COVERED.

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8. KEEN-NORTON/BEKETOV BILATERAL. IN DISCUSSION OF ICBM SURVIVABILITY, BEKETOV OBSERVED THAT HE PERSONALLY DID NOT UNDERSTAND THIS CONCEPT, SINCE A SIDE CAN AVOID ICBM VULNERABILITY BY LAUNCHING ON WARNING.

9. NEXT PLENARY MEETING THURSDAY, MARCH 30. EARLE

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